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A
COMPLEAT VIEW,
OF
The Present Politicks
OF
GREAT-BRITAIN.

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Tracts
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A
COMPLEAT VIEW
OF
The Present Politicks
OF
GREAT-BRITAIN.
IN A
LETTER

From a *German* NOBLEMAN,
To his FRIEND at *VIENNA*.

TRANSLATED

From the *French* ORIGINAL, lately printed at
BRUSSELS.

L O N D O N :

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A
COMPLEAT VIEW
OF THE
PRESENT POLITICKS
OF
GREAT-BRITAIN.



T ought certainly to be esteem-
ed an extraordinary Point of Fe-
licity, that the Employment one
would chuse for one's Amuse-
ment, falls out so as to become
the Business of one's Life.

Travel, my dear Friend, and the observing
the Manners and Mode of Living in different
Nations, has been, you know, my supreme
Delight ever since I was capable of relishing
what may be call'd rational Pleasure; nor do

I look upon it as any Hardship in this Light, that I am now, for the third Time, station'd at *London*. A Man grows sick of some Nations, as he grows weary of some Places, because he quickly sees them in all possible Lights ; and when once we are forc'd to view Things over and over again, the Appetite must pall, and the Understanding grow uneasy. Here, at *London*, there is no Danger of feeling any such unpleasant Sensation ; even in the Course of a long Life, every Day, nay every Hour, produces something new ; the Face of the Country, and the Humours of the People, are for ever changing. The Diversions which were in vogue when I was first here, in the latter End of the Reign of King *William*, are now not only disus'd, but forgot ; nay, Things are as much alter'd since I attended Prince *Eugene*, during his Visit to the *English* Court in 1711, as in some other Countries they would have been in a Century at least ; and then to mention the Vicissitudes of the three last Years, would not only require the Pen of a true *German*, but the Patience also of a *Swiss* Reader.

AFTER this Opening, you may possibly expect a curious Detail of the present State of Things here, considered in every Light, and reduc'd, for the Sake of so good a Judge, and so kind a Friend, into a neat and succinct Discourse. But, alas ! these Things are neither

ther your Business nor mine: These are the Employments of Minds absolutely at leisure, and which are burdened with no other Care, than that of passing Time as agreeably as they can. You know that my Business here has been to take a View of the Parties and Politicks of this People, and to acquire, if it was possible, a just Notion, of what may, or what may not, be expected from them; a Thing that concerns our dear Country in the highest Degree. An arduous Task this, which, however, I have laboured to fulfill. Assiduous in Enquiries, most diligent in comparing Informations, I have neglected nothing that might administer to this great End; nor have I ever suffer'd my Passions to mislead me from the Paths of Truth. I have conversed with *Tories* as well as *Whigs*, have been a Member both of *Jacobite* and *Republican* Clubs, and if ever any Man, or at least any Stranger, could boast of looking thoroughly into this busy, restless, and intriguing Nation, I may, without Vanity, affirm it of my self. No Critick ever studied a Classick with more Application, no Virtuoso ever took more Pains in pursuing through all their Metamorphoses his favourite Species of Insects, than I, in examining the Temper and Qualities of the *English*, and the Result of these Enquiries are to be the present Business of my Pen.

I MUST own, that I have been always in the same Sentiments with *Aristotle*, who thought, that Nations had their Characteristics as well as private Men, and that the ruling Passion of a People might be as easily discerned, as that of an Individual. To speak freely, I should have a very mean Opinion of any Man, who would value his Penetration highly on the finding out, that the Love of Liberty is predominant among *Britons*. It shews it self in their Language; in their Behaviour, on trivial as well as important Occasions: It appears in the Actions of their Childhood, and, if I might be allowed the Expression, I should say this Passion even outlives them, at least I am very sure that it frequently dictates their last Wills. It has been too their lasting Passion, and in this they, with great Justice, pride themselves. There was a Time, when the *Greeks*, the *Romans*, the *Franks*, were fond of Liberty; but it is the peculiar Honour of this Nation, that there never was a Time in which Liberty ceased to be admired among them. They have been conquer'd, but never subdu'd, for they have inspired their Conquerors with the same Passion; and as they have a Law, which makes every Man free as soon as he sets his Foot on the Island, so their Manners have something so very bewitching, that even *Italians*, who live long here, forget their

Bigotry,

Bigotry, and the *French* the Glory of their Grand Monarque.

BUT as there is not a more perplexed Question in Philosophy, than *What may be truly stiled Liberty?* so we need not wonder, that in Spite of all their Thinking and good Sense, the *English* should fall into great Mistakes on this Head. They have indeed been too apt to run into Extreams, and from a very quick Sensibility of Slavery, have been apt to fancy, that whatever was opposite to Power, must be Freedom of course. This led them an hundred Years ago to throw off their old Form of Government, and put to Death their Prince, and that too with a Form of Law, though the least Reflection would have shewn them, that his Life, and their Liberty, must expire together. Experience, however, soon convinced them of this Truth: They found that it was easier to shake off Masters, than to shake off Power; and that more real Liberty was to be found where *some Things*, than where *all Things* were lawful. Their Passion for Liberty, as it brought upon them the Inconveniences of an ill-constituted Republick, which soon degenerated into a Tyranny, so it quickly pointed out the only proper Remedy of recalling their exiled Prince, and restoring their old Form of Government, which they did with more Alertness, than they had shewn in throwing it down.

IT was the Sense the two succeeding Kings had of this ruling Passion, that threw them into the Arms of *France*. They saw what a Spirit of Liberty had produced, and having the National Temper strong in themselves, grew fond of *Arbitrary Power*, which, if I may so say, is the *Liberty of Princes*. This put the People again upon their Mettle ; it created, indeed it gave Reason, for a new Opposition : A Set of unintelligible Notions, in which Religion and Politicks were strangely blended, serv'd to keep up perpetual Dissensions, till the Court began to avow a Design of enslaving, by which the REVOLUTION was produced. This, like a kindly Crisis in an acute Distemper, suddenly restored the Health of the Patient by changing, without subverting, the Government ; leaving the Prince in Possession of legal Power, and the People in the full Enjoyment of Liberty, as far as it is consistent with itself.

THE *Tories* had as large a Share in this Transaction as the *Whigs*, as is very certain to me, who came into *England* within seven Years after it happened. The famous *Jack Howe*, was one of the first Gentlemen in *Gloucestershire*, who went into the Prince of Orange, though he made it the Business of his succeeding Life, to plague King *William* ; and the Earl of *Clarendon*, who was afterwards a Non-juror,

juror, not only deserted King *James*, but advised the Prince of *Orange* to secure his Person. But though most of the *Tories* concurred in dethroning this King, and very many of them in exalting the Prince of *Orange*, yet the whole Party joined unanimously in opposing him, as soon as he was seated on the Throne. This made Mr *Hampden* say wittily, and truly, *that when King James abdicated, it was because the Tories had lost their Principles, and that King William was distressed by their not being able afterwards to find them.* In order to explain this to you, I must observe, that the *Tories*, consistent with their Principles, could never desert King *James*; nor could they, without incurring a like Charge of Inconsistency, unite in opposing the Crown after it was set upon the Head of King *William*. They had always professed themselves Friends to the Royal Authority, and even, according to their own Distinction, of *de Jure*, and *de Facto*, they were bound to espouse the Cause of King *William*, in Virtue of his Possession, whatever Opinion they entertained of his Title.

It may seem a very odd Thing, to account for the Conduct of a Party in deserting their Principles, and yet, it is not difficult to do it in the present Case. The *Tories* disliked the Person of King *William*, because he was a Foreigner, and distressed him in carrying on the War abroad, from a Notion, That he

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espoused therein the Cause of the *Dutch*, rather than that of the *English*. These Prejudices naturally led them to renew their Correspondence with the *French*, who knew very well how to improve their Jealousies, and heighten their Fears. Yet, in reality, that War was entered into for the Sake of *England*, rather than *Holland*; and there wanted not a set of *Tories* on the other Side of the Water, who laboured to perswade the *Dutch*, that the *Republick* suffered exceedingly by having a Monarch at it's Head. Such were the Sources of King *William's* Difficulties on both Sides; and, whoever considers them with proper Attention, must allow, that if the King had not had a wonderful Genius, and a remarkably high Spirit, he could never have supported himself, either in *England* as a Prince, or abroad as the Head of the Grand Alliance. Yet that very Alliance, must appear to every candid Politician, a compleat Vindication of his Politicks; since it was founded on the broadest Bottom, and provided for the Independency of all the Potentates in *Europe*, without Distinction of Papist, or Protestant; indeed, without any Distinction whatever.

FROM this constant Opposition to all the Measures necessary for carrying on the War, proceeded those grievous Taxes, and that heavy Load of Debt, which the Nation have been complaining of ever since. These Evils
were

were in Fact, the Offspring of Necessity, tho' by a Conduct common enough to Parties in all Governments, they have been always charged by the one, upon the other. The *Whigs*, in King *William's* Time, I remember were not a little jealous, that the *Tories* intended by this Management to sow the Seeds of another Revolution, by making the People believe they paid more for their Liberty, than it was worth. But the *Tories* of the present Times, affirm it to have been a *Whig* Scheme, and that the Intent of it was to interest the Nation by Degrees, in the Support of the new Establishment; and to make the Care of their Properties, balance all Concern for their Principles. To say the Truth, these Refinements are both of them very ingenious, and shew the Dexterity of those Politicians who contrived them; but still an impartial Enquirer, will find it easy to distinguish the Truth, and to satisfy himself that the Debts of the Nation were a Misfortune on King *William's* Government, and are a greater on the present, because the Debts themselves are greater. Yet the Bulk of the Nation, are of quite another Sentiment, and, being governed by their Passions, implicitly believe, that both the Old and the New Ministry, have made it an invariable Maxim, to support a Measure which embarrasses no Body so much as themselves.

BEFORE I proceed farther, I must observe to you, that King *William* having been used to Parties in *Holland*, was inclined to rule by them in *England*, and therefore, tried more than once in his Reign to govern by what is called of late a *National Ministry*, that is a Ministry compounded of all Parties. But the Event was such as one would think, could scarce recommend such a Measure again. In short, those that were taken *in* betrayed him, and those that were turned *out* opposed him; and thus he found to his Cost, that a Ministry composed of all Parties, instead of standing on a *broad Bottom*, stood upon *no Bottom at all*, and that, if he had not changed Hands, and confided again in his *old Friends*, a new Revolution would have been brought about, in which none would have had a greater Hand, than such as he had been prevailed upon to admit into his Councils. In the last Years of his Life therefore Parties remained as distinct as ever; the *Tories* to a Man opposed the Court in every Thing, and this obliged the *Whigs* to concur in every Measure of the Crown, tho' there were some perhaps, which they did not altogether approve. And here I take my leave of this Reign, which might have established Union, and so have raised the *English* to the highest Degree of Glory, and which instead of doing so, left them at least as much divided, as they were at the Death of King *Charles II.*

IN the Reign of *Queen Anne*, the *Tories* seemed at first pretty well reconciled to the War, for which many Reasons might be assigned, without having recourse to Reformation. Their Sovereign was now no Foreigner, she was zealous for the Church, and told her Subjects as much the first Time she spoke to them, besides her Ministers, her Generals, and her Favourites were *Tories*, at least in Appearance, but in process of Time, when to render themselves consistent in their Conduct, they avowed some that were called *Whig* Principles; immediately the old Spirit revived, and the *Tories* began to hate their old Favourite *Marlborough* as heartily as ever they did King *William*. Above all Things they could never forgive him his March into the Empire, which was disclosed only by its Execution, and answered the great End of the War, by saving the Liberties of the Empire for that Time. This shewed the Temper of the Man, this demonstrated his hearty Affection for the Common Cause, and his desire to free all Europe from Gallick Influence. This exalted the *English* Glory to its utmost Height, and yet it grieved the Country Party in *England*. They from that Hour became jealous of their General, and because he had rescued Foreigners from Ruin, suspected that he was in a foreign Interest. When once the Infection had seized them, it spread far and wide, every Place he took gave new Dislike, and every Victory he gained,

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render'd him more criminal in the Eyes of the *Tories*. I have Reason to say this, from what I observed while I was here with Prince *Eugene*. The Ministry treated him in a Manner that suited little, either his Rank or his Character. The great Earl sent a couple of his Hangers on, to receive and instruct him, and the great Viscount crossed him in every Conference they held, and all this because he was a Foreigner, tho' at the same Time, they had less elevated Ideas of *English* Merit than he.

WHEN I arrived here last, I was told of mighty Alterations. I was given to understand that the *Whigs* were turned *Tories*, and the *Tories*, *Whigs*: That the Administration was entirely bent on preserving Peace, that it might preserve itself, and that the *Tories*, as well *Whigs*, in the Opposition, were excessively scandalized at the shameful Pusillanimity of their Governors, as desiring nothing more than to support the House of *Austria*, and maintain the Pragmatick Sanction. At first I confess this surprized me, especially when I heard that some who composed this Opposition, were concerned in making the Treaty of *Utrecht*, and that many had been formerly in the *French* Interest. I thought however it was not impossible, that Men of Penetration might see their Error, and discern from the Conduct of *France*, the Danger of her increasing Power. I was confirmed in this, when
I heard

I heard that a certain great Patriot, who is now no more, and was known to be something more than a *Tory* in the Queen's Time, had voted for the Repeal of the Test Act. This struck me prodigiously, it had the strongest Appearance of Conviction, for according to the Notions I had formed of the Man, and they were not taken up hastily, or without due Information; I should as soon have suspected that he would have submitted to Circumcision, and gone over to the *Mahometans*, as that he would have been Friends with, or given Countenance to the Dissenters. This had the Air of Miracle indeed!

I COULD not help intimating thus much to one, who was a Friend to the late Ministry, and to express at the same Time, how great Satisfaction it gave me, to think that Men who had been formerly such Enemies to religious Union at home, as well as to all Concern for Friends abroad, had got over the first Point, which look'd as if they were in a fair Way of getting over the second. My Friend, smiled at this Observation, and, with the usual frankness of an *Englishman*, told me, it was hard, if not impossible, for any Foreigner to judge of their Affairs. The late, Sir —— said he was certainly a Man of vast Abilities, he had very great Talents, as the Chief of a Party, and was the closest Speaker in Parliament that ever I heard. But in spite of all his Professions, he was certainly no Friend ei-
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ther to Church, or State, under the present Establishment. He was for combining the *Tories* with the Dissenters, against the former, that he might engage the Dissenters to join with the *Tories* in undermining the latter. He knew that this Measure would oblige the best Friends of the Dissenters to declare against them, and, he flattered himself, that this Declaration would have made them their irreconcilable Foes. He was a great Politician, and had abundance of good Qualities, but by a pertinacious Adherence to his early Prejudices, he hurt his private Fortune, more perhaps, than he did the Publick. I have no Inclination to disturb his Ashes, I only intend to warn you of being too credulous, and mistaking Party Cunning, for Publick Spirit.

I SUBMITTED patiently to this Reprimand, but at the same Time could not help running the Hazard of another. I said, that it was evident the Administration, for this Discourse, happened before the Change, was much cooler in respect to the Concerns of the House of *Austria*, than seemed consistent with their Principles in former Times, and that Vigour with which I had seen a certain great Man exert himself during the last War. He said, I might find my self deceived in this too: That the Administration had been so close press'd, that it was of late become a Point of Policy, to shew least Concern for what was desired most, that Things might
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be taken up by the opposite Party, and the Ministry have an Opportunity of striking on the Rebound, since they found themselves not strong enough to toss the Ball. But, my Friend, said he, we are now near a Change, let me intreat you to keep your Eyes upon the *Tories*, and mark how long this Fondness of theirs for foreign Friends, this Tendernefs for the Queen of *Hungary*, this Concern for the Common Cause, will last. Believe me, they act at present in mere Complaisance to their *Whig* Associates, who may mean what they say, but these Men never can. Experience will convince you, that I am in the right.

THOUGH there was a great deal of Sense, as well as Spirit, in this Answer, yet I must confess it did not altogether cure me of the Notion I had conceived, that the *Tories* were really come over, and that they at last saw how necessary it was to the Safety and Welfare of *Great-Britain*, that all Things went right abroad; and that the Affairs of *Germany* and the *North*, should be directed by their own Councils, and not by those of *Versailles*. What served to confirm me in my Error, was the Indignation which the Opposition expressed at the mean Figure the Nation made in this critical Juncture, at the suffering the Troops to remain idle at Home, when they might be employed with so much Reputation abroad; and at the Inactivity of

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the *British* Fleet in the *Mediterranean*; I was extremely pleased with their espousing so warmly the Cause of our Queen, their Dislike of the Neutrality of *Hanover*, and their Desire to see the grand Alliance renewed. As I was told that the Opposition consisted for the most Part of Men of unblemish'd Characters, large independant Fortunes, and who had no other Views than such as were for the Glory and Interest of their native Country, I was in Raptures at thinking what noble Allies we had acquired, and what happy Effects this mighty Change would have upon all *Europe*; for I made no Question that the *Whigs* would continue firm to their old Principles, and joyfully unite with the new Converts in promoting that generous Design, which they had had so long, and so sincerely at Heart.

THESE Prejudices stuck by me till I saw an Opposition declared against the new Ministry, and declared as soon as they became so; and this for a Reason absolutely inconsistent with Patriotism, because they had not brought in with them the whole Opposition. This, I must confess, startled me; I could not reconcile it to any Party Principles I had ever heard of; so thorough a Change, not only without the King's Approbation, but against his Consent. I thought that though this was pushed by *Tories*, it was an outrageous Extension, even of the *Whig* Principle, and
I saw

I saw plainly, that if it was carried into Execution, the Government could scarce remain Monarchical; I then began to understand the Vanity of Professions, and how little Men were to be depended upon, when they inveighed against Places and Preferments, and treated as Badges of Slavery, those Marks of Favour which they thirsted to wear. I recollected instantly, all my old Friend's Observations, and was convinced in a Moment, that what had been for so many Years considered as a national Contest, was in Truth a mere Struggle for Power, a low scrambling for Places, and an unjust Resolution to seize them by Force, that is, by distressing the King's Measures, by obstructing the Publick Business, and by preferring the Possession of a Post, to the seeing those great Ends atchiev'd by others, which had been so warmly recommended by themselves.

You will easily conceive, that I entertain'd a great Esteem for the New Ministry, when I was convinc'd, that they adhered closely to their old Maxims, and carried into Execution, when in Power, the Scheme they recommended when out. The going over of the Earl of *Stair* to *Holland*, looked like a happy Omen, he was an active Officer in the last War, and always remarkable for having right Ideas as to the Strength and Genius of *France*. The Passage of the *British* Troops into *Flanders*, seem'd a happy Introduction to still greater Things. I saw with Pleasure, the

Low Countries secured by this single Step, and I foresaw that the Wolf would forswear his Hunger, now the Prey was snatched out of his Jaws. The Assurances given to our Court, the Language of the Ministry here, and the Activity of the *English* Ambassador at *Berlin*, convinc'd me that these Folks were in Earnest, and that they meant to restore the Prosperity of their Country by the Jealousy they shewed for her Fame. But I must confess I knew not what to think of that Sullenness shewn by many, who seemed formerly to wish the same Things. I endeavoured to find out the Reason, but in vain. Sometimes I was told that it proceeded from the Ministry's being thought to slight Domestic Concerns, which I could hardly swallow, when I saw them promote a Secret-Committee and a Place-Bill; the former looked like erecting a *Venetian* Council of *Ten*, and the latter had much more of Self-Denial, than I could discover in the Remainder of those who called themselves Patriots. At other Times the War with *Spain* was mentioned as a Thing laid aside and forgot. This I knew to be a false Colour, since in the *West-Indies* Diseases and Dissensions left the Ministry no Instruments to use, and in *Europe* the *Spaniards* had been more distressed within the Compass of a few Months, than in all the Time since the War began.

THESE Reflections oblig'd me to search deeper into Things than I had done before. It was easy to discover, that those who silently regretted the Share *Great-Britain* took in foreign Concerns, would soon begin to speak out, and resume their old Language with their old Principles. I saw the *Tories* were still what they had formerly been; and that while they were railing at Taxes, and complaining of publick Debts, they would contribute to the Increase of both, by pursuing such Measures as had given Birth to them at the Beginning. But what still puzzled me was, that these should be the Sentiments of free, independent, judicious Men. I could easily conceive how the Influence of Power might bring People to defend Absurdities, if not to believe them; but I could not for the Heart of me understand, how Men of clear Heads, great Estates, and who scorn'd all Connection with such as were above them, should run into such a Set of Notions as were absolutely inconsistent with their Characters, and seem'd to be calculated solely for the Rabble of a clamorous Party, or the slavish Followers of a few despotick Chiefs.

THERE is no relying any where on the Accounts we receive from Parties, much less in *England*, where, to serve Party-Purposes, we frequently see People sacrifice their Fame, their Fortunes, and their Families. Yet there want not, even here, various Modes of Information,

formation, to such as will seek, and know how to apply them. For Example, there has been a Custom of late Years of publishing Lists of Members, in which both Parties are distinguished, and though a grosser Insult cannot be offered to a Parliament than this, since it supposes Gentlemen to be predetermined, and consequently not unprejudiced Judges of what comes before them ; yet these Lists are in common Use, and in every Body's Hands: By Degrees they have been improved, and from a bare List of Names, they are now become Catalogues also of Preferments and Fortunes ; but to render them absolutely compleat, we should have the Estates and Circumstances of the Opposition, as well as of those who favour the Administration, which are, however, always omitted, because these Lists are drawn by People in the other Interest. For you are to observe, that in *England* such as adhere to the Constitution simply and without Reserve, are reputed its Betrayers, and such as make free with it every Day, and are eternally offering Schemes to alter and amend it, take to themselves the Title of Friends to the Constitution, and would cut any Man's Throat who should dispute their Right to it.

AFTER making all the Use I could of one of these Lists, in order to discover with what Degree of Justice the Gentlemen in the Opposition were represented as the only free,
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independant, and incorruptible People in the Kingdom, I began to make my Enquiries with all the Address of which I was Master, that I might learn personal Histories, and not be put off with Party-Characteristicks. In consequence of this, my first Discovery was, that the Opposition in general consisted of a Body of *Tories*, sprinkled with a few *Whigs*, who either from their Knowledge of Business, or from a supposed Superiority of Talents, generally took the Lead. With these, therefore, I began, and presently found that there was hardly one of them, who had not gone over from some particular, well-known Cause of Discontent; and who might not have been fetched back again from publick Opposition, if he had received private Satisfaction. This did not seem to promise a greater Degree of Impartiality, than is usually to be met with in the World; nor did any Accounts I could collect of their Fortunes, clear up the Point any better; so that at last it rested on the Temper of the Men, in which I could judge from Experience. On the Whole, therefore, it was evident to me, that these ought to be considered as a Kind of forlorn Hope, the Eagerness of whose Expressions were the Effects of their Resentment, and their high Professions of Patriotism the Robe that covers their particular Expectancies from publick View.

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WHEN I hear one of these Gentlemen declaiming in a publick Assembly against that System, which, as a *Whig*, he ought to defend; or when I observe him making still a greater Display of his Parts in an elaborate Recapitulation of all the Wrongs his Country has sustained for many Years past, I cannot forbear wondering within my self, how with so serious and compos'd a Countenance he can act such a Part, when perhaps the Majority of his Audience are perfectly sensible, that many of the Measures he censures were his own, and that he comply'd with all the rest. In such Cases I am at a Loss for the old *British* Probity, that Remnant of the Temper of the ancient *Saxons*, which held all Kind of Art in Abhorrence, and treated Dissimulation with Hate, as well as Contempt. I cannot imagine what these Orators think of themselves, or how they block up their Ears against the loud Tales which are daily and hourly told of what is thought of them by every Body but themselves. Scorn'd by their *old*, suspected by their *new* Friends, they are perpetually called up to testify to their own Infamy, and to fortify the Aversion of the Nation to a *Whig* Ministry; while yet they always profess, that *Whig* Principles are to be regarded as the true Foundation of the Country Interest.

PROCEEDING in my Enquiries, I found that no inconsiderable Part, even of the most
active

active People among the *Tories*, were Men of very slender Fortunes, whom Alliances in Point of Family, or strong Attachment to the Party, recommended to their Seats. These Folks, I found, as they were no other Way distinguished than by their Usefulness to the Opposition, were more than commonly solicitous in acquiring all the little Accomplishments which are necessary to form an intriguing Senator. These I have sometimes found whispering Doubts into the Ears of some weak Brother of the opposite Party, or telling him Pieces of News just coin'd for some particular Occasion. Such Kind of Folks I have always found to be at the Bottom in the *French* Interest, though they endeavour to conceal it the best they can, by sometimes expressing mighty Apprehensions of the overgrown Power of *France*, which gives them an unsuspected Opportunity of magnifying its Forces. Upon other Occasions they lament the hard Fate of the Queen of *Hungary* our Sovereign, but in such a desponding Strain, that it is easy to discern, they mean to represent her's as a lost Cause, and the Endeavours of the *English* Ministry to assist her, as downright Knight-Errantry. When I have suggested Thoughts like these to the most sensible Persons of the Party, and express'd my Amazement at their laying so great Stress on the Behaviour of Men so little interested in the Cause they pretend to support, I have been always answer'd, that they

are under such strong Engagements, that it is simply impossible they should break them : And thus I am come to the Bottom of a great Secret, *viz.* That it is so far from being necessary that a Man should have a vast Estate, that it is not so much as requisite he should have even a *Country Seat*, to qualify him for being in the *Country Interest*.

As one Discovery naturally leads to another, so upon a nicer Inspection into the Matter, I find that the younger Brothers of Noblemen, Lawyers under the immediate Influence of great Families, and Folks who have Dependancies still stronger than these, make a large Part of that independant, incorruptable, and unshaken Body of Men, who oppose themselves against the Corruption of the present Age, and are unanimously averse to the Projects of every Ministry. When I have hinted something of this Nature, I have had the Ignorance of a Foreigner smartly retorted upon me ; but when taking Occasion from this coarse Kind of Raillery, I have shewn incontestably, that it was possible for one born out of the Dominions of *Great-Britain* to acquire, by Degrees, a pretty distinct Notion of the Parties that subsist here. I have heard it acknowledged, that the Opposition were forc'd to have Recourse even to the Practices of those they opposed, and to make use of that Kind of Influence, which is in their Power to balance that of the Court.

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Yet after all, what is this, better or worse, than avowing, that amongst a free People, Influence is requisite to the Views of all Parties, and consequently no more Corruption in one, than in the other.

As for the Bulk of the *Tories*, they are, generally speaking, Men engag'd in an hereditary Opposition, with Estates not much the better for this obstinate Spirit of Contention; who borrowing Heat from Disappointment, and Strength from Despair, have embody'd themselves in a Kind of Phalanx, with which they vainly hope to push all together, sooner or later, into Power, and to make themselves amends for having stood so long by their Country, by sharing at length, and continuing for ever in Court-Places. This, upon the strictest Enquiry, I find to be the genuine Import of the new Phrase of establishing a *National Ministry*, which fine Word, like many other delicate Phrases consecrated from Time to Time to the Service of Faction, has turned many a weak Head, and induced several, who wish'd sincerely well to the present Establishment, to believe there could not be a wiser, as well as more popular Step, than for the Royal Family to part for a Time with their old Friends, whose Interest is somewhat declined, chiefly from their being their Friends, and to take in these new Candidates for Favour; though whenever a fair Occasion offer'd, they have hitherto shewn

themselves open and irreconcilable Enemies. I must confess, however, that there is something so wild in this broad-bottom Scheme, as they call it, that I do not believe it will ever take Place. If it should, adieu to all Ideas of publick Liberty, the Common Cause, the Maintenance of the House of *Austria*, the securing the Balance of Power, or curbing the Insolence of *France*; for these would be infallibly treated by the new Politicians as mere empty Sounds, invented by Knaves, followed by Fools, and unworthy the Notice of such able Statesmen, as are capable of making Treaties that will execute themselves, and laying the Foundation of the Ruin of the House of *Bourbon*, by enlarging her Territories, and increasing the Number of crown'd Heads in that illustrious Family.

BUT the Concern under which I write, and the great Stake we have in the Disputes of a Country at such a Distance from us, had well nigh made me forget a very considerable Body of Men, who are, in Truth, the very Core of the Opposition, I mean the very high *Tories*, the *West Saxons*, the ——— I was going to call them * * *, but I am not yet so thorough an *Englishman*, as to throw about foul Names with a good Grace. In publick Assemblies these Gentlemen are content to shrowd themselves under the Denomination of *Tories*, but in private Companies they take it ill if you do not understand them to be
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somewhat more ; and of these I must confess my Sentiment is exactly that of the late King GEORGE I. with Respect to their hoary Chief ; *I should always*, said that candid and sagacious Prince, *look upon Mr —— as one of the firmest and honestest Englishmen I ever knew, if he had not taken the Oaths.* To speak freely, this is the only Branch of the Opposition, which, in every Respect, but that before hinted, have acted a steady and consistent Part : They distressed King *William*, because they dislik'd him ; they sometimes concurr'd with Queen *Anne*, because, especially towards her latter End, they had Hopes of her ; and since her Decease, they have never been in a good Humour, but have always professed, and I believe very sincerely, that they thought Things in a very wrong Train. In short, they have the same Point always in View ; and as one Revolution sour'd their Tempers, so it is in vain to hope they will ever be sweeten'd again, —— but by another.

I FANCY, I need not now offer to you many Reasons in Support of the Opinion I lately advanced, *viz.* That the broad-bottom Phalanx will never be able to push itself into the Administration. One and all may do well enough while they are heaving at the Anchor, but when it is once weigh'd, and the Ship under Sail, every Man will naturally look to his own Affairs. At least this is what common Sense dictates, and what Experience
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has hitherto confirm'd. I would not, therefore, have the Accounts which some of our Countrymen have carried from hence, throw our Friends into Panicks. The Day of Judgment will come indeed, and so may this Event, of which they are so much afraid; but I dare say (and yet I would not pass for an Infidel) that neither are very near at Hand, or will be seen by any that are now alive.

It is easy to conceive, that a Party made up of Men of such discordant Principles and Interests, can have no fixed Scheme with Respect to foreign Affairs; and therefore you need not be at all surprized, that you hear so many different Accounts of the Disposition of the *British* Nation, especially with Respect to our Sovereign and her Concerns. As the Consideration of this Point has been the principal Part of my Business here, and as in Truth I have studied other Things so far only as they related to this, I think I may venture to promise you such an Account of the Matter, as will afford you Satisfaction; the rather, because you may depend upon it, that I am not at all byass'd by my Interest, or governed by my Resentment. I have enquired with all the Skill and Diligence of which I am Master, into the Matter of which I pretend to treat, and I lay before you, without Reserve, the Result of those Enquiries.

THE *British* Nation in general are, without Question, as generous and beneficent a People, as are to be found on the Earth; they love Liberty, and they enjoy it; and, to their immortal Honour be it spoken, they are such true Friends to Liberty, that they would willingly sacrifice a great Part of the Blessings that they derive from it, to procure a like Degree of Freedom to their Neighbours. As they are brave and bountiful, so they are naturally penetrating and judicious; and though it may be that the *French* are more polite, and the *Dutch* more inquisitive as to News, yet take them throughout, and I believe no Nation has truer Notions of their foreign Interests, than the *Britons*. They look with a very suspicious Eye on the extravagant Growth of the *French* Power, not only from their particular Dislike to that People as their natural Enemies, but on Account of the common Danger of *Europe*, which renders them always jealous of such Princes, or such Ministers, as enter into a close Correspondence with the Court of *Versailles*. They have likewise a right Idea of the natural Interest of *Germany*, and of its being the only practicable and effectual Barrier against the Encroachments of *France*. Besides all this, they have a natural Affection for the House of *Austria*, resulting from reciprocal Acts of Kindness and Confidence, and from their thorough Knowledge, that the Grandeur of the Arch-ducal Family

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can never become dangerous to *Britain*. On the whole, therefore, you may rely upon it, that the serious, right-judging Part of the Nation, are sincerely with us; and if at any Time their Affections are taught to waver through the Insinuations of Party-Prejudices, they may, by being shewn the true State of Things, be easily brought about again. This I am convinc'd of by that Readiness, I might, without going too far, say, Eagerness, with which all Parties concurr'd in the Measure of assisting the Queen our Sovereign, when she was first attack'd by the *French*. If this Ardour is at all decay'd, it is not owing to any Change in the Temper of the Nation, but to several Circumstances which I shall hereafter have Occasion to explain. You may, therefore, set your Heart at Rest as to the People, for their warmest Wishes are, and will be always on our Side.

THE noble Lord, who is now render'd accountable for all that is transacted abroad, is a Man of confess'd Abilities, particularly well vers'd in foreign Affairs, and who is absolutely for pursuing the old and only true System. He has given the strongest Testimonies of this when *in*, and when *out* of Power; and since he has been last in Place, he has persisted with invariable Steadiness in supporting that Plan, which he recommended before he came into Employment. From a Man of so consistent a Character, you must allow that we have

have all Things to hope, especially if you reflect, that he has all the Talents requisite to form a great Minister. He has Courage to undertake, and Resolution enough to pursue, the most arduous Designs, without being alarm'd at such unthought-of Obstacles, as are thrown in his Way ; or having any Dread of that Clamour, which artful and popular Orators may raise against the best laid Schemes, when they are not immediately crown'd with Success. In a Word, he has Penetration, Experience, indefatigable Industry, and withal, what is the most necessary Qualification to a *British* Minister, a natural, unaffected Eloquence, which charms and convinces every Hearer. Do not fancy I am prepossess'd in his Favour ; shew this Picture to the most inveterate of his Enemies, and they must confess it too faint a Likeness. Those who are associated with him in the Ministry, are entirely Men of like Sentiments, and at the same Time Persons of the highest Rank and greatest Fortunes in the Kingdom ; and tho' some of them may have quitted the Opposition as he did, yet, like him, they adher'd exactly to the Opinions they had formerly maintain'd ; and therefore, to speak properly, the Opposition quitted them, and the Principles, which through the Course of that Opposition, they had avow'd and asserted to be the only right Principles on which a *British* Ministry ought to act. You may, therefore, de-

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pend upon it, that these Men are in earnest, and that they are neither deluded themselves, nor desire to delude others by fine Sounds and specious Pretences, but are heartily concerned for the Glory of their own Country, and sincerely intend to support the Queen of *Hungary*, restore the Balance of Power, and maintain the Independancy of *Europe* against the Force and Intrigues of that ambitious Court, which has so long persisted in the Prosecution of such Schemes, as render her Abasement absolutely necessary to the Safety, I might say to the very Being, of their Neighbours. This just and glorious Plan, is the Plan, my Friend, of the present *British* Ministry, in which may they persevere and prosper! may the open and secret Friends of *France* and Slavery fall before them, and may they reap the Praise, they Merit, from the present Age, as their Memories will be certainly adored by Posterity, unless *France* should prevail, and blot all Sense of Truth and Honour from the Minds of Men.

BUT to return.—When it was resolv'd by a Party here, to persist in Opposition till they arriv'd at Places, which in all Probability they will never attain, it became requisite to form new Pretences for the Support of their Cause, since the old one could no longer serve their Turns. They had, with the utmost Fierceness, attack'd the late Ministry for their want of Concern for the Balance of Power;
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their too great Neglect of the House of *Austria*, and their too great Complaisance for the Court of *Versailles*; nay, some of the warmest of their Partizans, had carried Things still farther, and inveigh'd against a great Minister, as if he had been the mere Creature of *France*. But these Topicks of Declamation failing them, entirely with Respect to the present Ministry, they were forced to have recourse to others; and that they might still have the Pleasure of opposing, they have not been asham'd to contradict themselves. This is the true Source of that Change of Notions which has been painted in such frightful Colours by some of our Countrymen; a scandalous Change indeed, but necessary however, and what they could not do without. But be assured, that this Change will have very little Effect upon the Nation, the People here are not so easily impos'd on; and granting that they might go wrong for a Moment, you may depend upon it when they hear Truth, they will conceive it, and come to their Senses again.

THE first Objection they dwelt on, or rather the first Pretence they set up, for deserting the Principles for which they had so warmly contended, was the Obstinacy of our Queen, which they said the new Ministry had, with very bad Policy, encouraged and supported. Now you know, my Friend, that in the first Place the Fact is false in it self;

the Queen never was either advised or promised Assistance, on the Score of her Difference with his *Prussian* Majesty by the *British* Ministry. As to the Point of Obstinacy, again they are absolutely mistaken in that too. That our Sovereign was very unwilling to quit any Part of her Dominions, is true; and that when she was forc'd to make use of this Expedient, she at the same Time declared, she expected an Equivalent, for this Cession is not to be deny'd : Yet to say, as these People do, that this Proceeding flow'd from Arrogance, Self-will, or a tenacious Temper, is going too fast, or, to express it in the softest Phrase, speaking without any Consideration. The Title of the Queen our Mistress to all the Hereditary Dominions of the House of *Austria*, rested on the *Pragmatick Sanction*, as did all the Claim she had to the Assistance of her Allies. What Wonder then that she was fearful of receding one Jot from that Settlement, or that she declined doing, as long as she could, an Act directly repugnant thereto; or, that in doing it, she took all the Care she could to avoid that Repugnance, I cannot imagine? If contrary to all Light of Evidence, they should say, this was only a Pretence of the Queen of *Hungary's*, let them look into the Elector of *Bavaria's* Manifesto's, the Queen our Mistress could not thrust her Pretences into them. Yet there we find the Cession made to the King of *Prussia*, treated

as a direct Violation of the Pragmatick Sanction; and from thence it is inferr'd, that the Queen of *Hungary* had forfeited all Title under it. This surely is sufficient to shew, that the Reluctancy expressed by her Majesty as to this Step, did not deserve to be called Obstinacy.

THE sending over *English* Troops into *Flanders*, was one of the earliest Steps taken by the present Ministry, and indeed it was taken as soon as ever they became so. As the present Opposition was not at that Time form'd, this Step, when taken, met with universal Approbation: But as soon as some People were disappointed in their Expectations, and it appeared that the Government was not taken by Storm, though the *Tories* had march'd in a Body to Court, it began to be whisper'd, that this Step would never be carried into Execution, or the *English* Forces expos'd in any Country but their own. As many Accidents concurr'd to hinder the speedy Embarkation of these Troops, they amus'd their Party from Time to Time with Hints, that they were not to go at all. These certainly shew'd that they were still of Opinion, that this was a right Measure, or at least that the proper Time was not yet come for them to treat it as a wrong one. Nay, when the Troops actually were in *Flanders*, they still persisted in this Train of Reasoning, and threw out broad Insinuations, that nothing more was intended

intended than to change the Scene of Reviews, since otherwise the *English* Forces would have march'd to *Germany* instead of continuing in *Flanders*. Thus far they continued in the Queen of *Hungary's* Interest, the Support of the House of *Austria*, the maintaining the Balance of Power, the restraining the Insolence of *France*, were yet their own Topicks, and all the Crime of the Ministry, was their not prosecuting them effectually. You and I know how little this was their Fault, how vigorously they meant to have pursued their first Measure, and how sincere their Intentions were to have vindicated themselves from this Reproach; and therefore whatever Impression these pretended Jealousies might make on People at Home, we are sensible they did not, indeed they could not, create any Distrust of the *British* Ministry abroad.

SINCE that the Opposition have chang'd their Battery, and have attack'd the Ministry on Account of that very Design, for which themselves had express'd so much Zeal. From questioning their Sincerity as to foreign Affairs, they have reproach'd them with making them too much their Concern; and after driving them for many Months together upon Action, as they pretended, against their Will, they just before the present Session of Parliament, procur'd Instructions to the Members of it, to prevent the Ministry from acting at all, by exhorting them to refuse Supplies. This sudden
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Turn of theirs, look'd as if it had been concerted with the Creatures of the *French* Court in a neighbouring State, who, when they were press'd to concur in vigorous Measures, alledg'd, the *English* Nation would not long continue in that Frame of Mind : And thus it plainly appears, that they themselves are guilty of that Insincerity, of which, without any just Grounds, they pretended to suspect the King and his Ministers.

IT is in a Manner incredible, with what Facility the Malecontents have invented false Colours for whatever the Ministry have done, or omitted doing. The Examples I have given you are but faint Instances of the Truth of this, and therefore I must proceed to some other Testimonies. According to their System, it was a Point of Imprudence, or rather a Step that shew'd want of Address in the new Ministry, not to think of duping the *French* in their own Way, by out-bidding them for the Elector of *Bavaria*. In order to give some Kind of Gloss to this most extraordinary Scheme, they have of late been pleased to equip that Prince with an excellent Character. He has, as one of their Chiefs told the World lately, a Heart *truly German*, and might therefore have been easily brought over to the Interest of his Country. But whatever his *Heart* may be, his *Actions* certainly speak him entirely *French* ; nor is it easy to learn how, in the Situation Things
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stand at present, or have stood for some Time past, a *British* Ministry should be able to form any Schemes in Conjunction with this Prince, even in his new acquir'd Character of Emperor, without such a manifest Violation of Treaties, as might have *cost* them their *Heads*; and very probably, from a just Sense of this, the Opposition may wish such a Step had been taken. To obviate, however, this, and many other Objections, as well as to shew their Skill in refin'd Politicks, and how little they are to be restrain'd either by the Laws of Nature or Nations, they have dressed up another whimsical Project, which would certainly appear very ridiculous, if they did not seriously insist upon it as both reasonable and practicable.

THE Scheme, in few Words, is this: When *Britain*, say they, was united in close Conjunction with the House of *Austria*, the Head of that House was Emperor, and therefore the *British* Nation considered the Support of the House of *Austria*, as the Support of the Emperor and Empire. But then, continue they, the Imperial Dignity passing out of this House, it fell from being the *Head*, to being a *Limb* only of the *Germanick* Body, which, in true Policy, the *British* Ministry should have consider'd, and not have enter'd so deeply into its Interests, as they have done. But, by the Leave of these Disciples of *Machiavel*, they argue altogether upon wrong Principles.

Principles. The House of *Austria* did indeed derive some Authority and much Splendour from the Possession of the Imperial Diadem, but certainly no great Weight, nor the least Degree of Force. The Queen our Sovereign, if once thoroughly settled in the Possession of her hereditary Dominions, would be a much more considerable, a much more useful Ally to the *British* Nation, than many of her Imperial Predecessors; and this, I think, has been fully demonstrated by the vast Resources she has found in the Fidelity of her Subjects, since the Commencement of the present War.

YET in the midst of their wise Reflections, one would wonder they never found out, that the *British* Ministry, without following their dangerous and destructive Plan, have in Reality secured all the Advantages which themselves have supposed might flow from it. For what has his *Britannick* Majesty, what have his Ministers done against the Elector of *Bavaria* in his new Character? Or, to put the Question stronger, what have they omitted to induce that Prince to manifest his having a *German* Heart, and to unite his private Interests with those of his Country? The Opposition in *England* did not, they could not certainly, mean, that this Ministry should embark at once in the same Bottom with a *French* Emperor, merely on Account of his Title, or that they should look on tamely,

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while, with an Army of Foreigners, he erected himself into a powerful Prince, at the Expence of the lawful Heir of the House of *Austria*, the Possession of whose Dominions had been guaranteed to her by the Crown of *Great-Britain*. Yet if they did not mean this, the Ministry have certainly done all they could desire besides; and it is entirely the Fault of this Prince with a *German* Heart, that he is not at the Head of the Empire with as much Power and Authority, as any that have ever sat on the Imperial Throne.

IN Respect again to the Weight of the House of *Austria*, let me have Leave to state the Thing thus. Suppose the Queen our Sovereign in peaceable Possession of the Archduchy of *Austria*, and its Dependancies, the Kingdoms of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, and a reasonable Equivalent for *Silesia*, and this by the Assistance of *Great-Britain*, will she not be as formidable in that Part of the World, as any of her Ancestors? And will not all the Power that she and her Descendants possess, remain a natural, unalterable, and perpetual Balance against *French* Influence in *Germany*? But to push this a little farther still, suppose the Elector of *Bavaria* should ever justify the Character his *English* Friends have given him, and demonstrate to the World notwithstanding what has passed, that he has a Heart truly *German*, would it be too late for *Great-Britain* or the Queen of *Hungary*, or,
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to speak out, for the Allies of both these Powers to secure him an Equivalent, for parting with *French* Protection, and becoming in Reality, what he is now only in Imagination. In such a Case, the *British* Ministry might have the Honour, not only of saving the House of *Austria*, but of securing a greater Interest in *Germany*, than she had when the Imperial Dignity rested in that illustrious Family. This indeed is a glorious Prospect, this is a safe, a just, a wise, and a very practicable Plan; and though I will not say, the *British* Ministry have pursued it, yet I defy the bitterest of their Enemies to say they have not; and, perhaps, a Folio Panegyrick could scarce redound more to their Honour, than this short Hint.

BUT the most extravagant Thing of all, is the Illusion of which they are so fond, that all the present Measures are dictated in Favour of *H——r*. This is certainly the wildest and most unfounded Fiction that ever had Place in the Heads of wise Men, and yet in the Heads of some such I really believe it to be deeply rooted. If the *British* Nation would but consider a Thing they very often say themselves, it would certainly cure them of these Apprehensions. I mean, if they would consider the Value of his *Britannick* Majesty's three Kingdoms, in Comparison of his Electorate. The small Interest the *Ger-*
mans have ever had upon his Councils, and

the great Confidence he has always placed in his *British* Ministers, are additional Proofs of the same Thing; but to prevent them from having their due Force, they are pleased to suppose, that even *British* Ministers of ancient Families, large Fortunes, and blessed with numerous Posterities, forget all this for the Sake of that foreign Interest, the Care of which can produce nothing but Danger to themselves, Uneasiness to their Master, and no Equivalent to the very Country which is so much talked of, for the Loss of its Prince and his Family. This is thoroughly known to Strangers, not from their being better acquainted with Facts, but from their being free from the Prejudices which infect *English* Minds, and make them see all Things in false Lights. I must confess, I have often compared their Caprices to those of a jealous Wife, whom nothing can please, and for whose Satisfaction whatever Pains are taken, may be accounted Labour lost. However, for the Sake of Truth, and that I may convince you who I know to be so great a Bigot to the Countrymen of the Duke of *Marlborough*, that you are not only ready to espouse their Interest, but their Foibles, I will endeavour to explain some late Transactions, so as to put it out of your Power to doubt that this Calumny is as foolish and void of Foundation, as it is envious and malicious.

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You must remember, that when his *Britannick* Majesty was last in *Germany*, he exerted himself warmly in the Cause of our Sovereign, and would have exerted himself still more, but for very cogent Reasons, which need not be dwelt on. He certainly pursued then, as Elector of *Hanover*, that Scheme which his *British* Subjects seemed to have most at Heart, and this it was that endangered his *German* Dominions, and put him to an immense Expence, which he never can, nor, I believe, ever expects to be repaid. But what did the then *British* Ministry do upon this Occasion? Did they enter upon those vigorous Measures which would have certainly extricated their Prince from all his Difficulties, and left him at full Liberty to have acted as independently as Elector of *Hanover*, as he could do as King of *Great-Britain*? Nothing like it. They were so much afraid of being thought in the Interest of *Hanover*, and so apprehensive of the Consequences which might have followed from such a Suspicion, being generally entertained by their Countrymen, that they absolutely declined giving the King the least Assistance, but left it entirely to himself to get out of the Plunge as he could. Yet when he had extricated himself, there wanted not Persons cruel and unjust enough, to reproach him with the Distress out of which they refused to help him, and to make that
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a Crime in his Majesty, which, all Circumstances considered, was at least no laudable Act in themselves. To say after this, that the late Ministry had any Byass in Favour of *Hanover*, is certainly advancing a gross Absurdity; and of this, some warm Friends of that Ministry are so sensible, that they have triumph'd upon this Circumstance even in Print. His *Britannick* Majesty himself indeed, from his great Wisdom and Prudence, and the perfect Knowledge he has of the Interests of *Europe*, in which, without Flattery, it may be said, he excels; I say, from these great Qualifications in his own Mind, he was enabled to form a right Judgment of this whole Transaction, and to remain firm to his first Resolution of maintaining the old System, and applying his whole Force for the Support of *that Cause*, which had raised him to the *Throne of Great-Britain*, and thereby given him a *Title* to be the *Arbiter of Europe*.

IT has indeed been objected, with a greater Shew of Reason to the new Ministry, that they began their Negotiations, with sending over a great Minister into *Holland*, to negotiate an Alliance in the Name of the Elector of *H——r*. I as little wonder, I must confess, that this Charge makes a deep Impression on the Minds of the Vulgar, as at the Pains taken by some of the *English* Patriots, to give weight to this trivial Pretence, which it is impossible

possible they should not see through, even in Consequence of those Arguments, by which they endeavour to blind the Eyes of others. If the *British* Ministry were really engaged in any criminal Design of favouring any foreign Interest, at the Expence of their native Country, is it probable, that they should begin with so gross a Step as this, of publishing it, not only to their Allies, but to all the World? Is this agreeable to the Characters of the Men? nay, is it reconcileable to Common Sense? But, if it was requisite, if it was expedient, to make Use of some other Title, than that of the Crown of *Great-Britain*, (for the Sake of keeping the *British* Nation from being Principals in this as in the last War) to form an Alliance proper for the Preservation of *Germanick* Liberty; could this Proposition be made in a fitter Name than that of the Elector of *Hanover*, or could the most upright, the most unbiass'd Ministry that ever *Britain*, or any other Country was bless'd with, be either afraid or ashamed of so harmless a Project? It has indeed been insinuated here, that the *Dutch* took Offence at this, and that it has been the principal Reason of the Backwardness they have shewn upon this Occasion; but those who advanced this, might have found a much better Reason in their own Conduct. The Forgeries that have been trumped up to countenance this notorious Falsehood, have been such low, despicable Pieces in themselves, and

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written with so little Knowledge of the Characters their Authors would personate, that if the Ministry had hired Writers to expose this Invention of their Adversaries, I can hardly think they would have succeeded so well.

THERE is a natural Malignity in the Minds of Men, which disposes them to rejoice in the Disappointments of others, and to be singularly pleased, when such Schemes as they have no particular Hand in contriving, are defeated, though they were to share ever so deeply in the Benefit which was expected from them. Under arbitrary Governments this Humour is restrained, not through Respect to the Laws, but for Fear of the Power of the Government. In free States it shews itself but too plainly, and all the Histories we have of ancient Republicks, abound with Instances of ingrateful Return even to their best and greatest Men. But in no Country certainly did ever this Temper so much prevail, as among those who stile themselves the Opposition here. They employ those Talents that might do extraordinary Service to their Country in exposing whatever Projects are form'd for her Service, by such as are call'd to it in the Way prescrib'd by their Constitution. As soon as they have the least Intelligence of what they stile a Ministerial Scheme, they are sure to derive it from some poisonous Source: It is either calculated to extend the Power of the Crown, to amuse the Minds of the People,

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to evade publick Justice, to serve the private Purposes of the Great, or to do some Good to *H——r*, and thus a strong Spirit is raised among the Party, before they will know against what. When it comes to be opened in a more publick Manner, they pursue it with a Multitude of spiteful Reproaches, and if they can light on any Circumstance which has been conceal'd, as generally there must be in every great Undertaking, this they are sure to unravel with indefatigable Industry, and to represent, as a Mystery of Iniquity, that prudent Caution which was altogether necessary. If by Steps like these, they retard, frustrate, or render ineffectual this Scheme of the Administration, they then impute to others as a Crime, what, in Reality, was the Effect of their own Intrigues; and careless of the Sufferings of the Publick, the Waste of the Nation's Money, and, perhaps, the Loss of her Troops, they rejoyce at the Disappointment of the Great, and plume themselves on the Accomplishment of those Predictions, which were dictated by a Spirit of Malice, and which they have taken so much Pains to see fulfill'd, purely to gratify their private Resentment. This, you must allow, was the Genius of Faction in *Athens*, *Rome*, and *Carthage*; and yet this is what is still mistaken in *England* for a Spirit of Patriotism. Because Power may be, and indeed frequently is, misapply'd, therefore it is a Maxim with

the Opposition, that it must be always so ; and because Ministers have sometimes had their private Interest more at Heart than the publick Service, they would have this pass for a general Rule, which never admits of any Exception ; and thus, by a most unaccountable Strain in Politicks, they make it the great Business of their Lives, to expose to publick Hate the Servants of the Publick. I am sorry that I am obliged to say this, but it is necessary to undeceive you, and to make you sensible of the true Cause of that Spirit, of which you are so much afraid. It is not that they hate the *Germans* in general, or that they have suddenly chang'd their Disposition with Respect to our Sovereign, that they oppose the present Measures, but merely because they are the Measures of the present Ministry, whom they would distress and dislodge, in order to become Ministers themselves ; and then, it is very probable, they will pursue the very Measures, against which they now exclaim.

WHEN this Administration enter'd on the present System of supporting the House of *Austria*, restoring the Balance of Power, and giving a Check to the Influence of *France*, it was not done with Secrecy or by Surprise, it did not flow from any Views of their own, but was undertaken by the Advice of Parliament, and with the unanimous Approbation of the People. It was most clearly and explicitly

explicitly laid down in the King's Speeches, and there were no Objections then raised, either against the Rightness of the Thing, or the Expence that might attend carrying such a Design into Execution. We never heard of any of those Cavils which have been thought of since ; but it was looked upon here, as it was looked upon by all *Europe* besides, as a glorious and a necessary Undertaking, conformable to the Interest of the Nation, and of as great Importance to the Independancy, Commerce, and Prosperity of *Great-Britain*, as to the Maintenance even of the *Queen of Hungary* herself. But every Body knew that such a Scheme as this could not be executed as soon as it was undertaken ; there were many previous Steps necessary, and nobody, since they were necessary, could have expected that a Clamour should have been raised because they were taken. If the Ministry had precipitately rush'd into a War, in which the *British* Nation were to be Principals, as in the last, there might have been just Grounds for blaming their Conduct ; and, no Doubt, the Opposition would then have pointed out, as salutary and expedient, the several Negotiations that have been entered into, and with which they now affect to be displeas'd. Yet even these were not entered into suddenly or without Advice, but all proper Intimations were given of them, even before they were begun, so that such as have represented them as Amuse-

ments since, had an Opportunity of objecting to them then, if they had really conceiv'd amiss either of the Designs or Intentions of the Ministry when they were concerted. But the Time was not yet come, no perfect Judgment could be then form'd, how Things would go at Home, and therefore it was not held requisite to begin finding Fault with what pass'd abroad. This, my dear Friend, is the Reason that foreign States are so apt to distrust the Steadiness, and consequently to decline the Alliance of the *English*, especially where any great Risque is to be run. They are afraid that this Humour of opposing Power, perplexing Ministries, and imputing every Delay, every unlucky Accident, to Causes with which it has not the least Connection, should cross their Designs and disappoint their Hopes, even when they are at the highest, as in 1710, a factious Minister's preaching a foolish Sermon at *Paul's*, prov'd the Ruin of the Grand Alliance. This is the Ground of that Diffidence which the Opposition here would place, as they do every Thing else, to the Account of the Administration; and if this could be once remov'd, we should see *Europe* safe, and *Great-Britain* possess'd of the Balance for ever.

IF there was ever extraordinary Prudence used in the Introduction of a new System, we may safely affirm it to have been display'd in the Methods taken to work out *French* Influence,

fluence, and to introduce a Dependance on *British* Councils, since the Commencement of the present War. Not only ours, but I dare say all the Courts in *Germany*, are thoroughly sensible, that nothing but the Interest of *Great-Britain*, and the wise Representations of her Minister at the Court of *Russia*, kept *France* from gaining an Ascendant there, which was the only Thing wanting to the Accomplishment of her Projects. This frustrated all her fine-spun Schemes in the *North*, and afforded a proper Opportunity of shewing a great Minister at another Court, how much too far his Ambition and his Prejudices had carried him. We know too how dexterously the Earl of *H——d's* Negotiation has been manag'd all along, how he adapted his Proposals to the critical Issues of War, and how he at last convinc'd the enterprizing Monarch he had to deal with, that the only Method of securing himself from the Power of *France*, was to practise her own Arts before her, and to secure that by Peace, which he could only hazard again by the Continuance of the War. We know the immediate Uses that were made of this happy Reconciliation, by which the great Powers in *Germany* were brought to let their Resentments cool, and to consider the Consequences of those Measures, which a hasty Concern for their present Interest had led them to pursue. We know what great Ends
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these Steps have already answer'd, and how many greater Advantages are justly expected from them. We know too that all these are derived from the timely, generous, and wise Interposition of *Great-Britain*, in the only Way by which her Interposition was practicable, and by which there was a Probability of defeating the Practices of the most artificial Court. The Success that has attended these Endeavours is so great, and the Face of Affairs in *Europe* has been by them so visibly chang'd, that all the Politicians in our Court stand amaz'd at a Sight so much beyond even their Wishes, the Ministers of other Powers seem heartily inclin'd to concur in whatever those great Men shall think requisite for publick Safety, who have so happily conducted Things thus far, while the *French*, amaz'd at so unexpected a Turn, and surpriz'd to see all their Projects unravell'd, forget the Language they lately us'd, and talk of nothing but Peace, that is, a loose, ambiguous, and unstable Peace, such a one as may give them Time to piece their broken Web, and to commence again their old Project of embroiling *Europe*, till all its States are render'd dependent upon them. This is the Light in which all impartial Men see the present State of Things, and admire that they are really as they see them, and that there is so fair a Prospect of speedily bringing about a settled and a solid Peace; which by explaining and
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securing the true Interests of the several Powers of *Europe*, may fix the publick Tranquillity on stable Basis.

YET these are the Proceedings, these the Negotiations, which are the Objects of Party-Disputes here. You would be surpriz'd to hear what strange Notions some People vent upon this Subject, and what extravagant Turns they give, even to such Events, as one would think incapable of any Turn at all. What, for Instance, could be a plainer, or more signal Proof of the Sincerity of the *British* Ministry, or of the naval Power of *Great-Britain*, than the sending Commodore *Martin* to put his *Neapolitan* Majesty in Mind of his true Interest, as well as of keeping his Treaties, which, like a true Son of the House of *Bourbon*, he had thought fit to dispense with, from an Imagination, that something was to be got by it. Yet there have been People here in *England*, who have not been satisfied to call this Measure in Question, and thereby rob their Country, for which they pretend such Concern, of the Glory resulting from it, but have even attempted to convert it into a Proof of this Ministry's being Creatures of *France*, and but indifferently inclin'd towards the Queen of *Hungary*. This will doubtless amaze you, but thus they would make it out. Her *Hungarian* Majesty, say they, was on the Point of sending over a
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potent Army into *Italy*, which, in Conjunction with the *Piedmontese* Troops, would have been able to have made the Conquest of the Kingdom of *Naples*. Now to prevent this, continue they, and thereby to curry Favour with the Courts of *France* and *Spain*, the *British* Ministry sent Commodore *Martin* to force *Don Carlos* into a Neutrality, which was absolutely necessary to preserve his Dominions. I dare say I need not go about to expose the Absurdity of so bungling, as well as so malicious a Contrivance. You know much better than I can tell you, of how great Service this Step was to the Common Cause, how well it was relish'd by our Court, and what happy Consequences it has had in *Italy*, in *Germany*, and perhaps in *Spain*; where, unless I am much mis-inform'd, they are on the Eve of a grand Revolution, I mean in the Ministry, to which nothing has conduced more, than this Method of awing the King of *Naples*, and shewing his Most *Catholick* Majesty how much it is in the Power of *Great-Britain*, to baffle his Designs in all Quarters of the World. You see by this, how impossible a Thing it is to force the Opposition into the Belief of any Thing, the Truth of which is not consistent with their Interest. If a Negotiation is not immediately terminated, as the Ministry propos'd, they then distrust their Intention; if an Expedition miscarries, it was
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either through Treachery, Indolence, or bad Conduct ; but if like this of Commodore *Martin's*, it is executed with all possible Marks of Glory and Success, it is then the reverse of what it appears to be, it is calculated for the Service of the Enemy, it seems to distress and to delude the Friends for whose Sake it is said to be done. Thus Thoughts, Words, Actions, all are subject to perpetual Misrepresentations ; and let but Foreigners be guided by the Papers and Pamphlets transmitted from *Great-Britain*, they must be sure to think the Ministry always in the wrong,——— and be themselves seldom or never in the right.

I THINK I need not trouble either you or myself with a long Apology for the Irregularity of this Discourse, since it is not intended to acquire Fame, but to exhibit Truth. The present Temper and Circumstances of the *British* Nation, the real Views of the Parties subsisting among them, and the Strength and Firmness of the Government, are so little known, or rather so grossly misrepresented, by retailing the Fragments of *English* Libels, written, strictly speaking, for Bread, as the Sense of this great People, that it seem'd absolutely necessary to correct such flagrant Mistakes, especially when of such Consequence to the satisfying the Minds of honest Men throughout all *Europe*.

At this Juncture it is no Secret, that the Fate of *Europe* depends once more on the Conduct of *Great-Britain* ; that on the Wisdom and Courage of the King, on the Abilities and Integrity of his Ministers, on the good Agreement and vigorous Resolutions of the Parliament, rest all the Hopes of the independent States of *Germany* and *Italy*, for their Preservation, and even for their Existence ; since, if the modern Humour prevails, of raising every Branch of the House of *Bourbon* to Sovereignty, *She may send forth Princes into all Lands*, and the Grand Monarch at *Versailles*, may have his substitute Monarchs throughout Christendom. Permit me, therefore, to shew how absolutely inconsistent such a State of Dependancy, would be with the Safety and Prosperity of the *British* Nation, and how apparent this is to all the Thinking Part of this People, and I shall imagine, that I leave you in full Possession of the Subject, and that you will conclude with me, we have never had, since the Beginning of the Century, so fair a Prospect of reducing the exorbitant Power of *France*, and settling effectually the Peace of *Europe*, as, through the Disposition of the *British* Court, we have at present.

THE two great Sources of the Wealth and Happiness of the *British* Nation, which,
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notwithstanding their Complaints, grounded chiefly on the Mistakes they make about them ; I say, their Wealth and Happiness, which make them the Envy and Admiration of Foreigners, flows from their *Liberty* and their *Commerce*. If, therefore, it can be clearly and fully shewn, that neither the one, nor the other, could subsist, if *France* should ever bring her Schemes to Perfection, and extend her Influence as she has often attempted, even to the remotest Parts of *Europe*, then I take it for granted, that it must be owned, not the highest Point of Policy only, but of Patriotism also, for a *British* Ministry to consider the Maintainance of *Europe's* Independancy ; which can be accomplished only by their holding the Balance of Power, as their first and greatest Concern : And that the Conceit of the Tories, of the Advantages resulting from their Situation as an Island, and their confining their Cares wholly to themselves, is at once an absurd, a dangerous, and impracticable Scheme ; and all the plausible Pretences, raised by them to give it a Colour, tend only to perpetuate Divisions, and to induce those Evils, of which they pretend to be most afraid.

IN order to have a distinct Notion of the Basis of *English* Liberty, we must first

be thoroughly sensible in what it consists. Upon this Head, I make no Scruple of asserting, that the *English* are much more free, than it appears from History, that any other People ever were ; and that this Freedom consists in the universal Liberty of all Ranks of Men, from the Peer to the Peasant : For though the Nobility, Clergy, and Gentry, in *Great-Britain*, have Titles, Privileges, and Immunities, sufficient to support their respective Characters, and set them above the Level of the Vulgar ; yet, as to Freedom, the meanest Man has as much of it as the Greatest. He is at full Liberty to employ his Talents in any honest Way, in order to acquire a Fortune : When he has acquired it, he may employ it as he thinks fit ; and, when he dies, dispose of it as he pleases. Besides all this, his Fortune entitles him, if he has a Thirst of Honour, and adequate Parts and Interest, to the supreme Dignity a Freeman can wish, that of representing his Country in Parliament, and speaking his Sentiments there in a Language as free as his Thoughts. Having thus described *English* Liberty, I dare say it will appear no Paradox to you, when I lay it down as a Thing certain, that the Preservation of it depends upon the Crown's being obliged to borrow its Weight and Authority from the

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Consent of the People. It is this that makes a vast Revenue, a considerable standing Force, a most puissant Navy, and whatever else could gratify the Desires of an arbitrary Monarch, altogether harmless in the Hands of a *British* King, who, as he holds them in Trust for his People's Service, so this Trust is but of annual Duration; and if ever either himself, or his Ministers, employ them in such a Manner as to give just Grounds of Suspicion to his People, they have it in their Power to resume most of what they gave, and to prevent any bad Effects from what rests in the Hands of the Crown. You see, then, plainly, that a Prince, who extends his Care beyond the Compass of his own Dominions, with a View, however, to their Benefit, must be much more dependent on his People, and his People consequently more secure of their Liberty under his Reign, than they could be under that of a King of narrower Notions, regarding nothing but the Extension of his own Power and Revenues at Home, which was actually the Case under King *Charles II.* and King *James II.* and must be the Case again, whenever *Tory* Maxims prevail, and the Court confines its Views to the Maintainance of its own Power, and the gratifying, at all Events, the Faction which supports it. This is a true Representation

sentation of this Matter, and I defy any Man to disprove it, either by Reason or History.

THAT the *English* Nation owe, in a great Measure, the mighty Figure they make, to their extensive Commerce, is what themselves, and all the World allow, and therefore it stands in need of no Proof : But that this Commerce would very quickly decline, if *Britain* shewed no Respect to her Neighbours, no Concern for their Welfare, no Apprehension of seeing them all, in some Measure, subjected to one ambitious Power, no longer left in a Condition, either to judge of their respective Interests, or to pursue them, is, what I think, no Man, who thoroughly considers it, and is a proper Judge of the Subject, can possibly doubt. We all know what mighty Struggles *France* has made to erect herself into a Maritime Power : We have seen by Treatises written under the Direction, and encouraged by the Patronage of her ablest Ministers, what her Views were in this Respect. One must, therefore, be wilfully blind, not to discern, that the Scheme of *French* Policy is diametrically opposite to the Interest of *Great-Britain*, as a trading Nation, and that in Proportion as the former gains Ground, the latter must decay. Whereas, if the Designs of *France* were frustrated, if she be kept from

from establishing, as she has often endeavoured, an intimate Correspondence with the Northern Powers, which is absolutely necessary to her acquiring a Naval Force, *Great-Britain* must remain in the Possession of that beneficial Trade, which she enjoys at present, and which she has so long enjoy'd, and must extend it too by Degrees, in Virtue of the Influence of her Power, and the Credit of her Alliances. Whoever reflects on the Rise and Progress of the *Portugal* Trade, which, if I am rightly informed, was of no great Consequence till the last War with *France*, and the striking out a new Channel of Trade through *Russia*, which had been the Object of *French* Councils for many Years, will see sufficient Reason to admit the Truth of what I have advanced. Indeed the Connection between the Maritime Force, the flourishing Commerce of *Britain*, and her holding the Balance of Power, is a Thing so easily discerned, that one need not lose much Time in explaining it; and besides, Experience shews us that it is against the House of *Bourbon* in the *West-Indies*, that the *English* are struggling for the securing of their Navigation; at the same Time that all their Apprehensions of the Loss of their Commerce in the *East-Indies* and the *Levant*, flow from the Intrigues of the House of *Bourbon* also: What then
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would they have to fear, if a Creature of *France* was advanced to the Throne of *Sweden*, if the Dependants of *France* should engross to themselves all Power in *Germany*, if the Descendants of *France* should be established as Princes in *Italy*, what could they expect, I say, but that the Loss of their Trade should follow the Loss of their Influence ; and therefore, if they will keep one, they must maintain the other.

IT would be very easy to extend one's Thoughts on these Subjects to a very considerable Compass, but I think what has been said, will very effectually answer my Intention, by proving, that the Liberty and Commerce of *Great-Britain*, can only be secured by such Maxims of Government, as direct the Councils of the present Administration. If, indeed, the Inhabitants of *Great-Britain* could immure themselves in their own Island, be content with its product, and sink again into that State of Dependancy and Vassalage, in which for so many Ages their Ancestors liv'd, they might lay aside all Thoughts of their Neighbour's Concerns, treat the Balance of Power with Contempt, and by keeping up continual Feuds among themselves, maintain such a Number of fighting Men, as might free them from all Fear of Descents and Invasions. But if the *British* Nation desire to continue as they are, to enjoy Liberty in its
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Measures which can render *Britain* truly great, by putting her at the Head of her independent Neighbours, and thereby prescribing Bounds to that ambitious Power, which could never yet be restrained, but by a superior Force.

F I N I S.



